THE CALL FROM THE GOVERNOR CAME 2 MINUTES TOO LATE
*Burton Abbott's mother after her last visit to him (see below).*

ANNA LOUISE STRONG'S 'TODAY' . . . P. 6

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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WAR & PEACE

# Bermuda talk fails to heal the breach in Western alliance

**By Tabitha Petran**

THE BERMUDA TALKS between the President and British Prime Minister Macmillan represented still another effort to tighten the Western alliance—in which new divisions have appeared even since Suez—and to set it marching again along the straight and narrow cold war road.

Officially, the effort was judged successful. Unofficial comment, however, betrayed a certain caution. The last Bermuda Conference (of the Western Three in December, 1953, at which France was bullied into continuing the Indo-China War), proclaimed the Western alliance to be in fine shape. This was followed in less than six months by the French collapse in Indo-China, and the Geneva Conference with the U.S.S.R. and China which wrote a settlement. Last year's Anglo-American conference (between Eisenhower and then British Prime Minister Eden in Washington) which achieved the "greatest Anglo-American unity" yet, was followed by the Anglo-French disaster at Suez.

The "general satisfaction" expressed with the present conference could not conceal (1) the fact that the Western allies are more seriously divided, perhaps, than at any time in the post-war decade, and (2) the approaching bankruptcy of Britain and France if they elect much longer to wage cold war, remain in the

*(Continued on Page 8)*

Vicky in the London Daily Mirror
**"So long, Rab! I hate to leave you at this moment, but I know you're always the best Deputy Prime Minister we have!"**

THE CALIFORNIA TRAGEDY SPOTLIGHTS A QUESTION

# Does capital punishment deter murder?

**By Elmer Bendiner**

AT 11:18 FRIDAY MORNING, March 15, an executioner dropped pellets of cyanide into a vat of hydrochloric acid in the execution chamber of California's San Quentin prison At 11:19 the telephone rang in the office of Warden Harley O. Teets. It was the Governor's clemency secretary Joseph G. Babich with a reprieve order. "It's too late," said the warden, and 28-year-old Burton W. Abbott died.

Gov. Goodwin J. Knight was aboard the aircraft carrier Hancock off the cost when officials strapped Abbott into the chair. Abbott's attorney had reached him once that morning in a televised appeal and won an hour's stay. When he telephoned shortly before eleven for a further delay while he appealed for a court order, the overseas operator held up his call for 29 minutes reporting all lines were busy. He got to the governor one minute before the pellets dropped.

**PETITION STILL ALIVE:** Abbott, married and the father of a five-year-old son, had been convicted on a charge of kidnaping and murdering a 14-year-old school girl in 1955. Her clothes and wallet were found in his basement and her body not far from his summer cabin. But throughout the 78-day trial, and up to the time the cyanide fumes rose, Abbott insisted he was innocent. His attorney George T. Davis commented after the execution:

"At present Abbott is dead and his petition for a review is alive before the U.S. Supreme Court. When you face the irrevocable fact of death in the middle of pending legal proceedings, it gives you the kind of shock that inflames moral conscience."

What stirred California last week had little to do with the guilt or innocence of Abbott. What horrified some, at least, in California was the age-old institution that kills in the name of the state and the people. Burton Abbott's brother Mark said:

"I feel the State of California has murdered my brother. It's too late now for recrimination, but if his death will help prevent capital punishment, it might not be futile. It does not ease the pain."

**NO MORAL RIGHT:** On April 1 the California Assembly Judiciary Committee was to hold hearings on a bill for a five-year experimental moratorium on execu-

*(Continued on Page 5)*

## Inside This Issue

STRIKES IN BRITAIN
By Gordon Schaffer . . . p. 3
OUTRAGES IN ALGERIA
By Anne Bauer . . . . . . p. 3
SAN QUENTIN STORY
By Lawrence Emery . . p. 5
PHILIPPINE SCRAMBLE
By Kumar Goshal . . . . p. 7
THE PETAL PAPER
By Eugene Gordon . . . . p. 12
WRIGHT'S NEW BOOK
By Elmer Bendiner . . . p. 10

CEDRIC BELFRAGE WRITES FROM GHANA

# Nkrumah: Exclusive interview

**By Cedric Belfrage**

ACCRA, GHANA

HAD I COME here half-a-dozen years ago and been able to get an appointment with Kwame Nkrumah, I would have found him in His Majesty's prison, gambling for soap, nut kernels and toilet paper with 10 fellow-convicts who shared his cell.

Last month I met him in the magnificent State House, and then in the Prime Minister's office, of his and his movement's creation—independent Ghana. From his cell, in 1951, he had contested Accra Central seat in the Assembly and won all but 342 of the 23,122 votes cast. The change of setting since then adds substance to the theory that, for a mass-party aspirant to political power, a term in jail is not necessary but it helps.

In the State House with its marble stairs and walls and rich carpets and hangings, the 47-year-old son of a poor artisan faced an assemblage of world press representatives without any precedent in Africa. His interviewers represented—in addition to many friends—a dozen different hostile attitudes toward his anti-colonialist militancy and socialist philosophy. Answering their questions for an hour with composure and humor, with dignity but no pomposity, he impressed almost all as a figure of major stature on the world political stage.

**FOR ALL AFRICA:** He referred to his year in jail in his first sentence, but without bitterness. Instead of the demagogic subjectivity and saber-rattling of a "would-be dictator" (as he has been called) he emphasized positive non-violence, friendly persuasion and compromise in domestic and international affairs.

The door to the Prime Minister's office is guarded by his blonde English secretary Erica Powell—formerly the secretary of Governor Arden-Clarke, with whom Nkrumah reached a relationship of mutual respect after the year in jail "even though I looked upon him as a

*(Continued on Page 4)*

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VOL. 9, No. 24 401 April 1, 1957

## REPORT TO READERS

# May Day, 1957

WE WISH TO PLACE our editorial "we" firmly behind the new "togetherness" on the Left, especially along the lines suggested in a letter on a matter of May Day in this week's Mailbag (this page).

May Day is an American-born conception, originally designated by the American Federation of Labor in 1890 in commemoration of the martyrs of Chicago's Haymarket labor frameup of 1886. Yet in recent years, because of growing repression and lack of Left-labor unity, it has been meanly observed in America, although annually celebrated by millions in metropolises of all the rest of the world.

We have no illusion that the glimmers of "togetherness" on the U.S. Left evidenced so far can turn out millions for May Day, 1957. We do believe, however, that for the first time in at least 20 years the circumstances exist for May Day events in American cities, participated in jointly by the major segments of the American Left.

THE AUTHOR of our Mailbag letter on the subject writes as a New Yorker, but we are sure the sentiments are echoed in every city of the land; and we can point to specific areas where there is good likelihood of all elements getting together for a May Day event of some kind, perhaps only another forum for an exchange of views (or growls) by the participants, but, at any rate, something!

In the Boston area, for example, our good friends the Rev. Hugh Weston and Florence Luscomb, among others, have advanced considerably along the road of matching views. In Los Angeles several large events have been held, addressed by Communist, Socialist, Socialist Workers Party and spokesmen for other groups. Similarly in Minneapolis, Detroit, Chicago, Philadelphia and San Francisco.

In New York one can hardly throw an empty beer can without hitting a Socialist Unity advocate. The Socialist Unity forums run by Clifford T. McAvoy, Michael Zaslow and others have been extraordinarily successful. If we have been counting accurately, they have a fortnightly schedule of events which, if pursued through the next month, would come up with a meeting right in the middle of May Day week.

OFFICIAL LABOR PARTICIPATION is hardly likely, now or perhaps for a long time, but rank-and-filers will turn out if given the chance. We think it is now up to the groups who have managed the warring camps of the past to offer the rank-and-file this chance.

For these reasons, Bro. Chairman, we second the motion of Sister Dickman in column 1.

—THE GUARDIAN

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# THE MAIL BAG

### Mobilize progressives

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I don't know of any paper that is more packed with enlightenment After reading the dailies and never getting the understanding of things till I read the GUARDIAN, it is my leading weekly—much to the apparent chagrin of two gentlemen who visited me (without invitation) purportedly from the F.B.I.

As to the effort to mobilize progressives, I wish God will bless you. I couldn't be indifferent any more than I could cut out my heart. I can't lightly forget the so-called progressives of recent years who themselves were the chief impediments and roadblocks to the vehicle of progressive action. I sincerely hope their capacity to destroy will be neutralized—or, if possible, they will be converted. **Andronicus Jacobs**

### Togetherness for May Day

BUCHANAN, N. Y.

I have read with interest in the GUARDIAN notices of various forums under the auspices of the **American Socialist, Mainstream,** Socialist Unity Forum, etc., addressed by spokesmen from Socialist and Communist groups or by individuals identified with the left or liberal movement.

It has occurred to me that if we have to some extent reached the "talking together" stage, could we not begin acting together? Would not a good starting point be a joint May Day meeting? Perhaps the GUARDIAN, which has initiated other worthy actions in the past, could furnish the spark to start this going.

**Nan Dickman**

### Next stop, Utopia!

SEATTLE, WASH.

We like Vincent Hallinan's promise that victory for progress is assured and that he will work for same.

One pleasant way to help progress along would be to give credit where credit is due as to the improvements in spite of the backward forces.

Things are moving faster. The foundations have been laid from the victory of public schools, and on, for a Utopia. Peace and plenty for a campaign cannot be beaten.

**Josephine Stephens**

### Wagner's friends

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

It is shocking to see a man of Mayor Wagner's position receive within the scope of few weeks decorations from two hated dictators responsible for mass killings in the past few years. One is Batista of Cuba, whose police recently killed a group of young men who had sought asylum in the Haitian embassy of Havana. Moreover, during the days Wagner accepted the decoration, the principal parties of Cuba had protested to the Supreme Court the mysterious killings of some 30 young men by the armed forces of Batista. Others have been shot down since.

The other Wagner decorator is Franco—Hitler's protegee—who only several weeks ago executed a former Republican officer who returned to Spain in the belief that Franco's amnesty was offered in good faith.

As a long time Democrat I am giving up my membership in a party which protects and says nothing of leaders receiving such decorations.

**James G. Larsen**

### *How Crazy Can You Get Dept.*

Washington, Feb. 27 (UP)—Rep. A. L. Miller, Republican, Nebraska, said today he had learned of a rather obvious saving made by the defense department.

He said the department announced it is saving $200 million each year by "not cooking meals for those not present to eat them."

Falls City (Neb.) **Journal, Feb. 27**

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Peter Ruch, Hiawatha, Kansas.

### Predicament

CHULA VISTA, CALIF.

It is a terrible predicament we who are on fixed incomes must face.

I'm "allowed" $15 a month for rent! I couldn't rent a dirt floor garage or chicken coop for that. I must pay $35.50 per month. Food allowance is $28 per month (allowance set 10 years ago). Our "income" is $89 per month. No medical care, no recreation, no money for clothes. Just a mere existence. While millions are going to Hungarians! And the British scoundrels and others. Our country is certainly on the skids. **Name Withheld**

### Bonds mean bondage

LAKELAND, FLORIDA

Since 1862 our Government has been paying interest to the dominent financial oligarchy for the Government's use of its own money. Probably the majority of our citizens find that difficult of belief, and so it must have seemed at first to the various Congressmen who have had the honesty and the real patriotism to try to stop it. But the money-merchants have seen to it that such unfashionable meddlers got the old "heave-ho" come next election.

Our Federal Constitution, Article 1, Section 8, Paragraph 5, has been openly and constantly violated for 82 years, and the insincere "upholders of the Constitution" make a cynical joke of it. They regard it as idealistic or even socialistic to honestly respect the Constitution (but not so to subsidize bankers), when it prevents such looting of the Treasury. In that manner, because of our ignorant indifference, the cannibalistic money-brokers are collecting between seven and eight **billion** dollars a year. Modern piracy is an improvement in its "take" over the old crude way. Now there is agitation for raising the debt limit, and probably it will be, because the right men in our Government have been planted there for that purpose, as can be seen by the alert and discerning.

Remember: bonds mean bondage to bankers.

**Hamilton Stark**

### No socialists, they!

FAIRDEALING, MO.

There are several political parties throughout the world that claim to be socialist and urge the cooperation of all groups so labeled. All such efforts thus far have been futile and may continue to be so until conditions become such that the leaderships of those various groups learn that those who follow leaders are not socialists at all. A socialist does not need a leader. He knows what he wants and knows there is but one way to get it: the complete abolition of capitalism.

The true socialist may not be able to get anywhere by continuously propounding the fundamental principles of Marxian Scientific Socialism, which cannot fail as a means through which the working class of the world can emancipate itself from the shackles of a world system long overdue to be cast aside, but we can never be accused of leading our fellow workers up a blind alley, confusing them by word or action or betraying them by compromise. **J. T. Landis**

N.Y. Herald Tribune

**"When Mrs. Nixon gets back she'll know which are the friendlier places for tourists."**

### Forked stick

GUADALAJARA, MEXICO

The U.S.S.R. is not a socialist or communist setup, but a state capitalist regime and all of us have been fooled who thought it was socialist or communist and that contrary to the teachings of Marx and Engels it had skipped the stage of capitalism. The pretensions and the name meant too much to us and we accepted the idea that socialism could be built in an economy of "the forked stick." But now we can all know that they could only build state capitalism.

**Samuel Garrett**

### Benison

GIRARD, PA.

I have enjoyed every line of the GUARDIAN since I first began reading it back in '52. I continue to look forward to every fresh issue. To me it is one of the most reasonable papers printed in the U. S. today, providing me with that "priceless" news which would take me hours to find elsewhere. The GUARDIAN has come to represent my general point of view. Not always; occasionally I find other papers whose analysis and comment of an event is more precise, and more clearly understood. But except for rare exceptions, I have come to trust the GUARDIAN. This was not always so. It took a whole year, and the terrifying experience of the death of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg to convince me that the GUARDIAN was a newspaper I could not do without. I hope that I shall continue and offer this affirmation of loyalty to you and the budding regroupment of socialist thinking.

**(Rev.) Allan F. Sawyer, Jr.**
**First Universal Church**

### Pen-friend wanted

CALCUTTA, INDIA

I shall be very much obliged if you will arrange for a pen-friend for me among the young men and women of America.

I am 21 years of age and am interested in tennis, swimming, motor and motorcycle racing; my spare time hobby is weight-lifting and body-building. I belong to a club and participate in the various club functions such as socials, dances, dramatics, etc. I have acted in that famous American play, **Home of the Brave.**

**Ronald F. Forbes, Suite No. 1**
**185 Park St., "Park View",**
**Calcutta 17, India**

### Strange world

NEW YORK, N. Y.

On Nov. 1, Nagy announced that he would unilaterally repudiate the Warsaw Treaty, thereby establishing Hungary's independence. The Soviet disapproved such action by more right than France and England disapproved Nasser's repudiation of the Treaty of 1888 about the Suez Canal.

How impartially we judge world politics is reflected by Sen. Johnston's (S. C.) statement in the Senate, how immoral it is for Russia to crush Hungary while it is proper for England and France to protect their property interests in the Suez Canal Co. (which were never endangered) by invading Egypt, bombing Port Said, killing thousands, devastating their homes. A strange world we live in.

**J. H. Beck**

### In memory

MORTON GROVE, ILL.

We enclose $5 in memory of the Levine family of Chicago, killed recently in a traffic accident. Their loss is irreparable. They were really good human beings. **Friends**

**more Mailbag on P. 11**

GOVERNMENT PROSECUTES EDITOR

# French writers expose atrocities in Algeria

By Anne Bauer
Special to the GUARDIAN

PARIS

IN AN ALGERIAN VILLAGE street, one afternoon, an excited French soldier in a jeep shoots and kills an old Arab. The jeep drives on. A French auxiliary civilian unit coming on the scene a little later concludes, for no particular reason, that the old man has been the victim of Arab underground action. Five Arabs returning from a nearby mining job in a truck are taken to be the guilty underground agents.

An army sergeant with a few soldiers goes after them in a Dodge. After a two-hour race before nightfall, the French soldiers open fire from their Dodge. All five Arabs are killed. That night, the sergeant—a railway office clerk in civilian life, a sweet peaceful boy who wouldn't hurt a fly—falls asleep with the happy conviction that he has not only done his duty as a soldier but has revenged an innocent Arab's life.

**THE DIRTY WAR:** This tragic story is not fiction. It is, in brief, the first installment of a series of stories just begun in the pro-Mendès-France weekly **Express**. Author of the series is one of the weekly's editors-in-chief, Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, back after a six-month tour of duty in the French army in Algeria. What he has to say is tense new proof of the old truth that, when you get into a war of this kind—the kind that turns decent men into gangsters because the problems it raises are too heavy for the ordinary man's conscience—you know where you start from, but you don't know where you're going.

Over-scrupulous, Servan-Schreiber announced he would speak in his articles only about what he had seen personally in Algeria—hence, not about torture or similar practices there. But others are beginning to speak up about those things, and not only the tortured themselves.

**LIKE A BURN:** P. H. Simon, a Catholic writer, has just published a courageous volume, **Against Torture.** The Algerian facts and testimony assembled in his book include some notorious Gestapo methods, and a 13-year-old child among the victims. Simon writes:

"The cry of fear and pain of that Arab child tortured by two French officers to make him denounce the men of his race—ever since I have heard that cry in an unquestionable testimony, I carry it in me like a burn . . . This strategy of force and terror compromises the honor of France."

JEAN-JACQUES SERVAN-SCHREIBER
*Indicted for his indictment*

The same week, one of France's great lawyers, Maurice Garcon, in a substantiated article in **Le Monde**, spoke of concentration camps in Algeria where the prisoners are never told the reasons for their internment, and where they can "consult a lawyer only in the presence of a camp official, which is something unheard-of even for the worst common-law criminal."

In reply, the Defense Ministry has promised legal action against all "detractors" of the army's honor and integrity, and last week began the prosecution against Servan-Schreiber.

**OUT OF THIS WORLD:** If public opinion, through the voice of responsible journalists and writers, is as much as ever aware of the seriousness and urgency of the Algerian problem, the solutions put forward on government and party levels range from the impracticable to the absurd.

The right-wing Independents have cooked up a decentralization plan—with Europeans remaining at all top levels, of course—that will settle everything, provided no one consults the Algerians.

A small group inside the Mendèsist Radicals had suggested ethnical and geographical partition of Algeria "à la Israel"—a project disavowed by the Radical Party leadership and promptly withdrawn by its authors. The Algerian motion voted at the last Radical meeting was noncommittal, "sparing the cabbage as well as the goat," as the French saying goes.

Inside the government, Algerian Minister Resident Lacoste has requested, and apparently obtained, another "last three months" to finish pacifying Algeria.

**THE COST OF LIVING:** The government has other, more immediate, problems, all more or less directly conditioned by the Algerian situation. The most pressing are public finances and strikes.

The wage strikes—increasingly frequent lately in the civil services as well as in private industry—are the concrete expression of a constant rise in the cost of living. The average French housewife's experiences as she goes out marketing each morning contrast sharply with the official version of the situation. Government statisticians have compiled a list of current consumers' goods—the famous 213 articles—which include such items of daily necessity as the tennis ball and the coffee-grinding machine. If the index figure computed from these 213 articles rises beyond a certain ceiling, it sets the wage scales sliding—in theory, at least. In practice, as soon as the index figure comes close to the danger zone, a government-imposed price cut on, say, spaghetti and candy and underwear, puts everything right again. This month, a few really serious price cuts had to be decreed to keep the index figure in line.

Because these cuts affected some vital farming products—some meats and milk—they got the Peasant Party out of sorts. But because the cost of living is still out of all proportion to basic wages, the price cuts did nothing to appease the strike movements. In several strikes, the Socialist Party's own union (Force Ouvrière) is going along with the left-wing (CGT) and Christian (CFTC) unions. That is one of the many paradoxes about this Socialist government.

**TAXES ON IMPORTS:** As for the Treasury situation, the foreign currency shortage has just forced the Finance Ministry to raise taxes on some imports from OECE (European Economic Union) countries. This came at the precise moment when the government was singing the praises of the future European Market paradise where all customs barriers are to be gradually abolished.

The economic situation is of prime importance in parliamentary politics. There it often gives the opposition a pretext to overthrow the government, even when the real reason is an international or external problem, such as Algeria. Nothing so drastic is in the cards now.

In the debate on general politics which the government offered the Chamber last month, the attacks were polite, the debaters considerate. The Right's tactic was not to get rid of the government, but to make it swing further to the Right than it already has.

"What is happening in Algeria is simply abominable," one conservative leader admitted in a conversation last week. "This policy is not only blind and foolish, it is also very stupid." Asked whether he would give the government a vote of confidence, he said with a shrug: "We'll have to."

And Duverger, one of the country's foremost editorial writers, headed one of his most recent articles: "Mollet—from here to eternity."

FELLOW TROMBONES, JOIN OUR RANKS
*British shipyards strikers strut to a mass meeting*

THE TORIES vs. THE WELFARE STATE

# Britain hit by biggest tieup in 30 years; talks going on

By Gordon Schaffer
Special to the GUARDIAN

LONDON

THE STRIKE in the shipyards of Britain is 100 per cent solid. It is the biggest industrial tieup since the whole trade union movement went into action in support of the miners in 1926—and it will get bigger if present talks fail.

On March 23 leaders of the engineering unions began a series of "selective" strikes to back up wage demands. These unions cover a wide field of industry—from automobiles to bolts—and make about 40 per cent of Britain's exports.

The railwaymen, whose claim for an increase had been submitted to arbitration, settled for a 5 per cent increase for their 400,000 members. Building workers are pressing their claim and the miners, who are even more essential to Britain's economy than the shipyard workers, are also talking tough.

**PRESSURE ON STERLING:** In the end, the employers will either have to abandon their stubborn refusal to grant reasonable increases or the government will have to impose concessions, for Britain's precariously-balanced economy cannot stand a long period of industrial struggle. But by the time the concessions are made, the cost of living may well have gone up further, making a new series of wage demands inevitable.

Already, one effect of the strike in the shipyards is pressure on sterling all over the world. The government bolstered up its gold and dollar position after the Suez adventure by calling all the borrowing powers it could muster; but it can't do that a second time. If it devalues the pound, it will make it far more difficult to buy the raw materials Britain needs and the countries who still remain in the sterling group may well break away.

**REFUSED TO SIT DOWN:** All these effects could have been forecast months ago. The present situation was implicit in the resolution, adopted by the Trades Union Congress last September, rejecting any suggestion of wage stabilization. But instead of heeding the warning, the shipbuilding employers refused for months even to discuss the unions' demands and the government went ahead with a series of measures—the bill to raise rents, the cuts in subsidies designed to stabilize basic food prices, the increase in charges for medical treatment and school meals—all calculated to make the workers more bitter.

The process has been speeded up since Macmillan took over and the government seems determined to dismantle the structure of social services that has been broadly called the Welfare State. The present strike situation is a warning that it cannot be accomplished without an all-out struggle against the organized workers—and that struggle can destroy Britain's whole economy. The government has received just as powerful a warning that its policy is alienating the middle classes as well. It is generally admitted that the middle class voters, who normally vote Conservative, are staying away by the thousands at the by-elections, and now the doctors have threatened to leave the state health service in a body if their salaries are not increased.

**JAPANESE COUNTERPART:** The shipbuilding employers and the government are trying to justify their position by pointing to the competition of German and Japanese shipyards. What they do not say is that the Japanese shipyard workers (whose annual output of ships has for the first time outstripped Britain's) waged a long battle for a wage increase last year. They demanded a 48-hour week for the same wages they were getting for working an additional 25 hours a week overtime, or alternatively an 11 per cent increase in basic rates. After three and a half months they got 4 per cent. The employers, whose profits had risen by 50 per cent, made the same reply as their British counterpart: they must build up reserves because of keen foreign competition.

For 16 weeks the British trade unions put an embargo on all ship repair work from Schleswig-Holstein in support of the shipyard workers there who have just won substantial concessions. This week an official notice has gone out lifting the embargo. Simultaneously, the Metal Workers International has been asked to back the British strike. One firm announced last week that repair work had been diverted to a "continental port." The British trade unionists are confident it will not be accepted.

# Nkrumah interview

(Continued from Page 1)

symbol of British imperialism." From his desk where he works through almost every waking minute, Nkrumah came over to sit with me at a round conference table. Physically he looked very small as he crossed the huge room. Mentally he has measured himself without fear for a fight far bigger than that which he has already won—the fight for freedom in all Africa.

**RALLYING POINT:** We spoke briefly of our mutual friend and teacher, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, 89-year-old "father of the Pan-African movement." (The U. S. government denied him a passport to attend the birth of "his" child Ghana.) No time will be lost, Nkrumah said, in broadening the movement all over the continent from the base it now has on African soil. In Accra a UN-type conference hall, with simultaneous translation system for the multilingual black and brown delegates, will be built. A few weeks from now, the heads of the nine independent governments on the continent—including South Africa which "of course may not accept"—will be invited here for a conference. Later this year, Nkrumah's Convention People's Party plans to call an all-African conference of "people's parties."

Most of my talk with Nkrumah was about African socialism—a subject scarcely raised at the general press conference. I told him I had met many Ghanaians who, like him, described themselves as socialists, but unlike him knew very little about Marxist theory and almost nothing about developments in the socialist world. This was to have been expected since the British had both directly and indirectly imposed a censorship on such information, and Ghanaians who could afford to travel have been almost entirely from the families of wealthy chiefs. (Nkrumah, however, spent many years in the U.S. and Britain, and familiarized himself with every group and aspect of the Left.)

**NEW ROAD TO SOCIALISM:** To my surprise, Nkrumah said he believed some form of censorship would still be desirable and necessary in Ghana. He was now studying the question and could not be specific about future bans. But, he said:

"Marxism, properly understood, is a guide to action but people here are often confused by it. We have to bear in mind that it was developed and enriched by Lenin, for conditions existing in European countries. Conditions here are entirely different. On the one hand a proletariat is not nearly developed, we have no agrarian landlord problem, and no bourgeois class as such with capital accumulation to set up trade and business enterprises. For example, the big new Ambassador Hotel where we are housing our distinguished visitors would have been built anywhere else by private capitalists, but here the government had to do it. Our first large up-to-date publishing house, the Guinea Press, which will be ready later this year to put out daily, weekly and monthly publications, is another product of our government development corporation. What we need from abroad until we modernize our educational system are technical and managerial personnel to set these things up.

"On the other hand the Gold Coast economy has not been penetrated and dominated by imperialism as has that of British Guiana, whose former Prime Minister Dr. Jagan is our guest here and discussed these problems with me the other day. Foreign concerns control gold and diamond mining and commodity imports in Ghana, but not retail trade, and our major export product, cocoa, is produced by small independent farmers and marketed by our own government board under a price stabilization system.

"Under these special conditions we have to evolve our own road to socialism. There is no 'communist problem' in Ghana. [In his autobiography, Nkrumah only mentions communism in praising certain British party leaders and recalling earlier imperialist denunciations of himself as a 'communist'.] We have no ban on a Communist Party here because none is needed. Such a party could not proclaim anything that our CPP doesn't. We have taken communism and adapted it to fit our conditions, as the Chinese have adapted it, in a different way, to theirs. If we didn't do that we would be making no contribution to Marxism. We need new forms of organization and work."

**KWAME NKRUMAH**
*Confidence in the future*

**CHRISTIAN AND MARXIST:** To what extent this approach to building a socialist Ghana is likely to justify itself, none of the newcomers to Africa was anxious to pass judgment. According to George Padmore, a leading ideologist of the movement who was Moscow-trained but for many years has expressed strong hostility toward communists, Soviet delegates here told him they now realized how little they knew of Africa's problems and that they had seen "a new point of view." Nkrumah indicated that delegates from socialist countries had expressed themselves similarly to him. What especially inspired this feeling was their first observation of tribal society, which complicates and changes all "standard" problems and creates many new ones.

The Prime Minister's attitude seems to be friendly toward all varieties of non-African socialists, but cautious insofar as he suspects them all of incomplete understanding of Africa. Of British Labour Party "anti-imperialism" he says, in writing about his movement's critical post-war years: "Our hopes were completely dashed to pieces; in fact we saw little difference between Labour colonial policy and that of the Tories." Describing himself as "a non-denominational Christian and a Marxist socialist" who sees "no contradiction between the two", he says flatly and simply that capitalism is "too complicated a system for a newly independent nation—hence the need for a socialist society."

**UNBEDEVILED:** Whatever the validity of its "African exceptionalism", this socialist movement is unique in having gained power without being bedeviled at every turn—as other socialist movements are—by sterile debates about their "position on communism."

The attitude expressed to me by a Catholic, strongly pro-Nkrumah leader of Ghana's trade unions—a small movement, affiliated with the U.S.-dominated Intl. Confedn. of Free Trade Unions—may not be untypical:

"The American propaganda about communism is so obviously exaggerated that we are more and more eager to see it for ourselves. If the USSR or any of the others invites us to send a delegation, we shall not be influenced by the ICFTU position but will consider it solely in light of our country's foreign policy—which I understand to be friendship with all countries."

Under Nkrumah's leadership Ghana will certainly continue to seek its own African road to socialism. Socialists elsewhere will hope that, as the imperialist curtains around Africa are lifted, their Ghanaian brothers may be able to continue seeking it in unity, and that they may find it.

## MONTGOMERY—SMOOTH RIDING

# 22 who defied Birmingham jimcrow on buses fined in test of law

A MONTGOMERY GRAND JURY declared on Feb. 1[illegible] that its indictment of four white men for dynamiting Negro homes and churches "should not be construed as any weakening of . . . determination . . . to preserve our segregated institutions." That determination was reaffirmed last week when Birmingham Judge Ralph E. Parker fined 22 Negroes $55 each for defying the city bus segregation law Dec. 26. They were among 100 who tested Birmingham's bus jimcrow law after the U.S. Supreme Court had ruled Montgomery's unconstitutional.

Judge Parker said the high court had made a mistake in outlawing Montgomery's jimcrow buses and that to outlaw them in Birmingham would create "a state of emergency." He said he refused to be "responsible for such a calamity." He then challenged the basis of the Negro's constitutional right to equal protection of the law by declaring the 14th Amendment "null and void." He said its ratification "was coerced by military government."

**THE MONTGOMERY STORY:** The Montgomery Improvement Assn. in its March 8 newsletter reviewed results of the Supreme Court "mistake":

"For a few days integration worked smoothly, without incident. Both races appeared indifferent and seemingly accepted the inevitable. Bus drivers, who had been 'furloughed without pay' for months, were noticeably happy.

"Then the city officials spoke. They announced publicly that they had no alternative but to 'bow to the court's decision'; however, they pledged to continue their fight for segregation on buses. They warned Negroes that there would be bloodshed if they attempted to integrate and advised them to conduct themselves 'in such a way as not to embarrass the race and lead to bloodshed.'"

Officials rejected the MIA's request for police escort on certain buses; repeatedly predicted "trouble," a warning interpreted by many as an invitation to violence. On Dec. 26 two buses were fired on. By the end of December five buses had been hit. Then came the bombings on Jan. 10, and the city halted all bus service in Montgomery for a week.

**THE CLUB GIMMICK:** Since Feb. 19 the buses have been running regularly on an integrated basis and, according to the newsletter, "both Negro and white passengers are riding without trouble." City attorneys meanwhile have consulted Federal authorities about a scheme to operate city buses under a "club" plan with only white members. Negro and bus company attorneys have joined in protesting the move. Montgomery during the peak of the boycott refused the MIA's request for a franchise to operate a similar service for Negroes. Reason for the refusal was that "sufficient and adequate bus service" was already available.

Members of the local Ku Klux Klan and White Citizens Council are conducting a "water-bucket street campaign" to raise a $60,000 defense fund for the four white men indicted for dynamiting Negro homes. Their hearing is set for May.


# The Frightened Giant

A NEW BOOK

By CEDRIC BELFRAGE

YOU'LL ENJOY *our Editor-in-Exile's story of his last months in the U.S. because he took his sense of humor with him when he went into West St. Jail that May morning in 1955 and became "No. H-4715 who was surely a theme for Kafka: . . . charged with no crime, found guilty of it in a 'hearing' where due process was denied because it was not a legal proceeding, sentenced to a punishment which was not a punishment according to the deportation authorities, and put in a jail which they were later to say was not a jail." Of his earlier imprisonment on Ellis Island, he tells this tale out of school...*

"My own greatest triumph was when my son, visiting me . . . passed to me under the table a forbidden object which I asked him to bring and which I easily smuggled into our quarters. The object was urgently needed for the good of our whole brotherhood, to deal with the common menace of one of our group who kept us awake with thunderous snores. In the hands of Jack, who slept in the next bed to the snorer, it worked well in the cause of peace.

"The object was a water-pistol, but I enjoyed the consciousness that it could just as well have been a real gun and that I might have shot my way out."

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NOBODY ATE LUNCH WHEN THAT FRIDAY ROLLED AROUND

# They called it Topping Day at San Quentin

By Lawrence Emery

BACK IN THE THIRTIES, execution in San Quentin was by hanging. Prison slang has never achieved the popularity of pool-room talk, but "blow your top" is universal. Behind bars, "blow" means to lose; "top" is the head. And so the day in San Quentin when executions were performed was "Topping Day."

Topping Day was always Friday. The topping itself was scheduled an hour before lunch, or as near to 11 a.m. as the functioning of the mechanical gear would permit. Since then poison gas has replaced the rope but the timing is unchanged; it's still Friday at 11.

Condemned Row in those days never seemed to have a vacancy. Condemned Row was an upper tier of cells in the Old Prison, built in the time of the Spaniards. It overlooked the Garden Beautiful, the Main Gate—a tunnel with two sets of doors like those on bank vaults, the Porch (the inside-the-walls administrative offices), the Hospital, the Library. To the left was a flight of steps leading down to the Prison Shops, and on an upper level of one of these was the noose and the trapdoor.

The condemned had their own wire-fenced Exercise Yard. On good days some of them would toss a baseball back and forth, some would pace, up and back, up and back, and some would just sit in the sun. Inside their enclosure, they had their own barber shop; they couldn't be trusted with their own razors.

Because their lives belonged to The State, they got special privileges of a sort. Their food was delivered to their cells. They weren't permitted to do much of anything for themselves; everything was done for them.

At one time or another almost every inmate of San Quentin in the Thirties got at least a glimpse of each of the special guests in Condemned Row. Most were known to the non-Condemned by name and reputation. Main Line cons usually waved to their fenced-off brothers whenever they passed their Exercise Yard. If the wave wasn't returned, well, those poor gees had troubles.

TOPPING DAY STARTED OUT like any other in the week. The wake-up bell rang and the light came on a little before the sun was up. Five thousand cons dunked themselves in cold water, got into their dirty grey garb, straightened the dusty blankets on their bunks, swept up the cell floor, stood up to the bars for the morning count. When the doors opened, they hustled off single-file to the mess hall.

Once in the Big Yard the day was different. The Work Bell didn't clang. Nobody went down to the Prison Shops. Outside-the-walls work-crews didn't go out. It was an enforced half-holiday and there was no labor. By 9:30 a.m. all the run-of-the-mill, Main Line, unprivileged cons were corralled and the big iron gates of the Big Yard were bolted.

For a time it was like a no-work Sunday in the Big Yard. Domino games took up the benches against the high walls. Chess players with pocket sets made their moves. The pacers paced, the talkers talked. But by 10:30 most of the games broke up, the pacers halted, the talkers didn't talk so much.

The Old Prison was just outside the bolted gates of the Big Yard. The steps leading eventually to the trapdoor were a foot beyond.

At 10:30 an ancient tradition was observed. The Main Gate—the double bank-vaulted doors—was thrown wide open. In the Spanish days there was no telephone, no wireless; if an 11th-hour reprive was to come, it would come by sweating horse and tired rider. It was an odd custom, extended into the Thirties from an almost-forgotten past, but it seemed somehow that the hangman's chore ought to be tempered by a last minute doubt of guilt.

No sweated horse in the Thirties ever galloped through the wide open Main Gate. No con of the five thousand bolted away from sight of the Death March ever expected one.

BY 10:45 ON TOPPING DAY the Big Yard became quiet. Dominoes were put away. Pocket chess sets were back in pockets. No prison-wise con needed a word of speech from another con. All knew the ritual as though they had performed it themselves.

The ground-bulls grew quiet and became stock-still and carried their weighted cane-shaped clubs draped over their arms as though they were innocent aids to walking. The gun-bulls on the cat-walk high overhead stopped and stared, with their rifles crooked under their arms as though they were on a deer-hunt and despaired of a target—except the one at the end of the cat-walk who could see over the wall and watch the death procession heading down the stone steps.

What he saw was seen by the five thousand. The last walk. The man in the middle was the man in the same grey clothes they wore to whom they had waved yesterday. They had seen him pitching a ball, pacing up and back, sitting in the sun. Same clothes, same place, maybe the same prosecutor, perhaps even the same charge of crime. But he was Dead.

THE LAST WALK got down to Shop Alley, turned into a doorway on the left, went up several flights of stairs, came into the room with the rope. A well-tested rope. It had been soaked in water, stretched to dry with a heavy weight on the end, proved to withstand the strain of a heavy shock. At five minutes to 11, a total hush hits the Big Yard. Ground-bull glances nervously at gun-bull. No one moves. At 11 a.m. on Friday, Topping Day, five thousand convicts hold their breath.

But they knew it all the time: no sweated horse would crash through the bank-vault doors. On Fridays in the Thirties, few convicts ate lunch in San Quentin. In 1957 maybe the cyanide pellets are quicker than the rope; maybe television is swifter than the spurred horse. But it wouldn't seem that Friday appetites in San Quentin can have been improved.

**WHEN A MAN'S LIFE HUNG ON A TELEPHONE WIRE—AND THE LINE WAS BUSY**
*Trying to reach the Governor are Burton Abbott's lawyers, Leo Sullivan (l.) and George Davis (r.). William Sullivan, court clerk (c).*

## Capital punishment

*(Continued from Page 1)*

tions. Assemblyman Lester McMillan (D-Los Angeles) said when he introduced the bill: "The state has no moral right to take a life . . . If all the legislators had to watch an execution, the bill would go through." State Atty. Gen. Edmund G. Brown has supported the bill and denied that capital punishment deters crime.

When proponents of officially sanctioned killing do not justify it as a vengeance upon the wicked, they uphold it as a necessary evil to deter criminals. But enough governments have already abolished capital punishment to provide statistics which thoroughly debunk the executioner's last claim to social usefulness.

The death penalty has been abolished or is held in abeyance in Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Italy, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Rumania, Sweden, Switzerland, West Germany, Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, The Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Honduras, Mexico, Peru, Panama, Uruguay, Venezuela and New Zealand.

**NO DETERRENT:** In the U.S. it is outlawed for state offenses in Maine, Michigan, Minnesota and Wisconsin. In Rhode Island and North Dakota it is imposed only for first degree murders committed while serving a sentence for first degree murder.

The partisans of capital punishment for almost a century have been insisting that only the threat of death kept murderers in check and that abolition of the death penalty would provoke a sharp rise in violent crimes. Here are the facts:

- The Netherlands abolished the death penalty in 1870. For 20 years before then the murder rate had been 9.5 per 10 million population. For 20 years after abolition the rate was 9.3.
- In Norway, which executed its last prisoner in 1875 and abolished capital punishment in 1905, the murder rate from 1875 to 1904 was 1.22 per million. From 1905 to 1924 it was .60.
- In the six abolitionist states of the U.S. the rate for 1931-1940 was 230 murders per 10 million. For the nation as a whole it was 810. Nowhere did abolition bring a rise in crime.

**CRIME AFTER DEATH:** The centuries of officially sanctioned hangings, burnings, head choppings and tortures have never effected a significant drop in the crime rate. Henry VIII had 72,000 thieves hanged and under Queen Elizabeth I, 19,000 more were hanged amid wide and presumably frightening publicity. But the theft rate did not drop.

In modern times criminologists have noticed frequent orgies of crime after well publicized executions. Following one luridly covered execution in New York in 1922 there were 44 murders in 33 days. In a Midwestern case in 1877, ten men were executed with so little deterrent effect that on the night following the execution two witnesses at the trial were murdered and within two weeks five others involved in the case were found dead.

**"ONLY THE POOR":** The death penalty is no even-handed administrator of justice. It takes into consideration class, skin color and pocketbook. Clinton T. Duffy, former warden at San Quentin said: "Seldom is a person of means executed."

The late warden of Sing Sing, Lewis E. Lawes, wrote that in 12 years of his job he walked 150 men and one woman to the death chamber and "in one respect they were all alike. All were poor and most of them friendless."

Clarence Darrow said: "There is nothing so unequal and unfair as capital punishment. Only the poor are put to death."

More than 30 years ago the House Committee on the District of Columbia, reporting favorably on a bill (which never passed) to abolish capital punishment in the District, said:

"Almost any criminal with wealth or influence can escape it [the death penalty] but the poor and friendless convict, without means and power to fight his case from court to court or to exert pressure upon the pardoning executive, is the one singled out as a sacrifice to what is little more than a tradition."

**THE RAPE CASES:** In the quarter of a century from 1930-1954 there were 3,281 executions in the U.S. More than half, 53.7% of those killed, were Negroes—at a time when Negroes represented only 10% of the population. In Southern states and the District of Columbia during that time, 73% of those executed were Negroes. Seventy-eight Negroes were executed for rape in those years in the South and not a single white man, though many were convicted of that crime. Prof. Frank E. Hartung of Wayne University, writing in "The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences," said: "The executions on conviction of rape have led to the charge that this is a racial penalty directed against Negroes."

**WHO'S TO BLAME?** The Negro, the poor, the illiterate and the immigrant are the major victims. They rarely make the heart-tugging headlines that occasionally can save a life. California Atty. Gen. Brown said after the Abbott execution:

"Rather than being a deterrent, capital punishment has given official approval to the taking of life under certain circumstances. Those who have neither the money for continuing legal proceedings nor the emotional publicity attractiveness of their cases are summarily executed as a routine matter."

Political executions—from the Haymarket martyrs to Sacco and Vanzetti to the Rosenbergs—weigh on the nation's conscience, though the weight is never officially admitted. Prisoners are frequently pardoned in the light of new evidence but rehabilitation of the innocent dead comes slowly and grudgingly from lawyers and judges. They bear some of the responsibility, but the public that allows killing in its name must bear the greater blame.

Anna Louise Strong

# TODAY The Powell-Schuman Case

THE AMERICAN Civil Liberties Union sees the Powell case as a fight for "free press" and "fair trial." The eminent attorney, A. L. Wirin, sees it as a political case of wider range than any in our history, drawing evidence from two hemispheres and a historic decade. Sharp newsmen, like Arthur Caylor of the San Francisco **News**, call it "Uncle Sam's diplomatic boner", which may expose in court all the blunders of our China policy and "make America lose face all over the world".

Three decent young Americans are on trial; the story of the Korean War is also on trial—how it began, how it was conducted, how it came to its end. The Powell Case should spread on the record the essential, and as yet unknown, history of that war, tested in the fire of cross-examination and under rules of evidence. It could explode a foreign policy. That is its surpassing significance for the American people and for history.

John William Powell, a young man now in his thirties, owned and ran a news journal in Shanghai from 1945 to 1953; he was helped by his wife Sylvia and his associate editor Julian Schuman. Their **China Monthly Review** covered current events, including the Korean War. Their account of that war sharply differs from the official releases of the Pentagon. That is why they are indicted today.

***The Case***

They are not charged as "foreign agents"; the **Review** was American-owned. They are not charged with espionage; they dealt in news openly acquired and proclaimed. They are not charged with urging anyone to mutiny or attempting in any way to affect the Korean War except by publishing material aimed at public opinion in the U.S.

The press in America has, however, no absolute freedom; a law passed in the first world war limits wartime comment. The law is regarded with disfavor by liberals and has not often been used. The Powell Case will test the limits of our free press. All editors who might ever disagree with Mr. Dulles' war policies need to know those limits.

In the Powells' account of the Korean War, America committed "aggression"; the American forces used "germ warfare" in North Korea and even in Manchuria; General Ridgway and the American negotiators "stalled" the peace negotiations. This challenges the official version of a United Nations "police action" which the U.S. dutifully carried out.

The indictment charges that the Powells, "knowing that their statements were false," published them "with intent to interfere with the operation of the military forces of the United States and to promote the success of its enemies." Powell himself is indicted on 13 counts, for different published items; he could get 20 years on each count, or 260 years. Sylvia Powell and Julian Schuman, indicted on the single count of "conspiring" with Powell, can each get 20 years.

A layman sees certain stupidities. The indictment is based on a law that applies only in wartime and only on territory of the U.S. The Supreme Court ruled, in the case of steel shipments, that the Korean action was not legally a war. The Powells, moreover, were living in Shanghai, not in the U.S.

***The Defense***

The Dept. of Justice handles these difficulties by asserting in its first paragraph that the U.S. "was at war . . . with the Chinese Communists," a simplification of history that juries will doubtless accept. A later paragraph makes it clear that the crime was committed not when the articles appeared in Shanghai but when the journal was sold in the Northern California district of the U.S.

The wide range of the charges makes it necessary for the defense attorneys, Doris Brin Walker and A. L. Wirin, to bring out the actual facts of the Korean War, in order to prove that the articles published by Powell were not necessarily 100 per cent accurate, but accounts for which real facts existed, and conclusions that could honestly be drawn.

This is the kind of historical research that commonly costs hundreds of thousands of dollars and takes several years. The Powells have very few dollars and act under pressure of trial. But their defense is making a start, in the hope that other Americans will see the great value of this investigation, and rally to help.

**THE POWELLS:** *Sylvia and John Powell, shown with their children in their San Francisco home, nettled the brass in Washington when they published* China Monthly Review *in Shanghai. Along with associate editor Julian Schuman they are under indictment on a charge of sedition.*

The Powell story began with a family heritage. Forty years ago, in a Shanghai mostly run by foreigners, the **China Weekly Review** began. J. B. Powell, Bill's father, made it a fighting weekly of the American residents, pro-America, pro-China, attacking Japan's aggression so sharply that, when the Japanese later took Shanghai, they put J. B. in a tough concentration camp where gangrene took off both his feet.

***China Review***

J. B. lived to welcome victory but not to work again. He came back to die in America, leaving the **China Weekly** to his son.

Young Powell was born in China but educated in America, studying journalism at the University of Missouri. At 22 he got into the second world war; they used his China knowledge in the Office of War Information. After victory he reopened the **China Weekly.** In postwar Shanghai he met Sylvia Campbell, working for UNRRA. They married in 1947, the year old J. B. died.

Bill's office was a landmark for Americans in the heart of Shanghai. Most Americans who went to Shanghai—businessmen, newspapermen, John D. Rockefeller III, Marshall Field II—climbed its two long flights for news. It had more Chinese contacts than any foreign paper.

At firsthand the Powells saw the corruption of Chiang's regime. A Chinese judge tried to run them out of China for articles Bill wrote on local jails. The **Review** had to pay $550 a ton for newsprint which favored papers got for $50.

They ran the paper eight years, four under Chiang, four under the Communists. Slowly its policy became critical of Washington.

***Paper's Policy***

"We supported Marshall's attempt to build a coalition government," says Bill. "We saw, as he did, that in case of civil war, Chiang would lose. We opposed the later tendency to put all cards on Chiang. We opposed rearming Japan. We opposed installing Syngman Rhee in Korea; he was flown in from New York and put in power by our troops without a word from the Korean people."

When the Communists took Shanghai in 1949, the Powells, with most of the American residents, stayed on. "Let's give them a try," said Bill.

But American business died, not by act of Peking, but by acts of Washington: the embargo on trade and credit, the bombs Chiang dropped on Shanghai. As Americans left, the **China Weekly** lost subscribers and advertisements. The Powells changed it to a monthly and held on, hoping trade would revive. Instead of trade came the Korean War.

When the Powells discovered that some 2,000 Americans were prisoners of war in Korea, and that their relatives had been led by the Pentagon to think them dead, it seemed both a scoop and a kind deed to publish any names they could get. This nettled the Pentagon. It nettled them more when Powell published confessions of American airmen who said they took part in germ warfare.

By 1953 the **China Monthly Review** was on the rocks largely because the U. S. postal authorities held up most of the copies sent to American subscribers. So, in August, 1953, the Powells closed the paper and returned to America, which they had always considered home.

An agent of the Central Intelligence Agency met them in Hongkong; he wanted "information." Bill complied; he had lots of stuff he thought it useful to tell. But the agent wanted no general news; he wanted locations of airfields.

***The Tangle***

"I didn't pry into classified stuff," said Bill. The agent told him it was his duty as an American. Bill politely disagreed.

The agent then suggested that Bill might work for the CIA in the U. S. He would lecture on China—this would attract "left-wingers and peace groups," and Bill could list the names. When Bill flatly refused to spy on his audiences, the agent warned that he might "have trouble adjusting" to the U. S.

First trouble came when Customs took his library and his China curios. To Bill's protest that the books were mostly brought by his father from the U. S., the official said: "Even a New Testament would be held if it had been in China."

Real trouble came from Senator Jenner (R-Ind.) of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. He yanked Bill from a lecture tour to a Washington hearing in September, 1953. Bill went prepared to inform the Senate on China. Jenner had other ideas.

The stage was set for melodrama: TV cameras, big "blow-ups" of items from the **China Monthly,** GIs shouting "traitor." Powell, finding this set-up, refused to answer most of the questions. Later he went to the National Press Club and gave his answers to the newsmen, including the fact that he "was not now and never had been a Communist."

Jenner's melodrama fizzled, partly because the newsmen quoted Bill directly, but more because McCarthy chose that day to tangle with the U. S. Army, and this got the headlines instead. In a pique of patriotism, Jenner declared Powell should be jailed and he would "see to it".

The indictment came 18 months later, in April, 1955. For two years now the Powells have been in and out of court, their lives and jobs disrupted. But the attorneys say it has reached "only the preliminary steps of the first stage."

***First Steps***

First stage in a defense is to collect witnesses. Most of the necessary witnesses are in China or North Korea. Attorney Wirin proposed to go to China, take depositions, select and bring back witnesses. So far he has not gone. But months of time, thousands of dollars and over a dozen court appearances have been spent on his attempt to go.

Federal Judge Louis E. Goodman, agreeing that witnesses from China were needed for a fair trial, instructed Wirin to go at government expense. The State Dept. refused a proper passport. Then the judge, in an unprecedented decision, ordered Wirin to go as an "officer of the court" and enjoined the State Dept. from penalizing him. The Peking Foreign Office announced that an "officer of an American court" could not enter China without proper passport and proper arrangements by American judicial authorities for cooperation of Chinese judicial authorities.

Wirin next asked that the case be postponed until witnesses could be properly secured from China, or dismissed on the grounds that, without witnesses, no fair trial could be held.

Last week Judge Goodman decided that he lacked the power to order the State Dept. to validate a passport. He gave the defense 90 days to show when and where the witnesses would be available, and what their expected testimony would be. He refused to dismiss the charges.

"Germ warfare" is the heart of the indictment. On this the prosecution will make spectacular assault. Much of the world believes that Americans used it; the American authorities explicitly deny it. What proof can the Powells produce?

Peking, of course, has a whole palaceful of exhibits on "germ warfare"; only a trained lawyer can say how much of it would be "evidence" in our courts. Peasants and health workers can be found who testify to the flight of planes overhead, to the droppings, to the analysis in laboratories.

Americans living in China have formed a "Friends of the China Review" Committee and have collected 50 witnesses. They can get more. Will the State Dept. let any of them in?

Already there has been investigation by experts. Dr. Joseph Needham, Britain's most eminent China expert, who was scientific adviser to the British Embassy in China during World War II, investigated the Japanese use of germ warfare. His testimony was accepted by the War Crimes Court. Later he was on the Scientific Commission that investigated the charge against America. Will his evidence be accepted on this?

Over 20 American airmen testified in China that they took part in germ warfare; they denied it when they returned to the U. S. Their published confessions list the names of officers who were alleged to have organized bacteriological warfare . . . so many names that a lawyer friend tells me it would take a lawyer three months' work just to list these names and check the admissibility of their testimony.

Investigation of this scope is far beyond the meager means of the Powells; they have been bankrupted by the "preliminary steps of the first stage." It is beyond the means of the local committees of friends in San Francisco and New York.

***National Committee***

A strong national committee is needed quickly. I think it should not be made up of radicals, and not even of persons committed to the Powells' view of the Korean

*(Continued on Page 7)*

MAGSAYSAY'S DEATH SETS SCRAMBLE FOR SUCCESSOR

# *What's ahead for the Philippines?*

**By Kumar Goshal**

THE NEWS of the death of President Ramon Magsaysay of the Philippines in a plane crash on March 17 let loose a flood of speculations in Washington and Manila.

Washington wondered whether the Hukbalahap revolutionary movement, seriously weakened by Magsaysay's relentless assault, would now be revived; how would Magsaysay's death affect the conflict over American military bases in the Philippines, Manila's role as a South-East Asia Treaty Organization member and the November presidential elections in the Philippines.

Filipinos, while in mourning, speculated about the elections, the future of land reform and planned economic development that the late President advocated but failed to realize.

**MacARTHUR'S MAN:** Born in a middle class family, Magsaysay attracted the attention of Gen. MacArthur as a guerrilla fighter during the Japanese occupation. In 1945 MacArthur made him the military governor of Zambales Province. He was elected to the Philippines congress in 1946 and was named Defense Secy. in 1950 by President Quirino.

As Defense Secy. Magsaysay carried on a merciless but unsuccessful three-year campaign to liquidate the Hukbalahap guerrilla liberation army. The Huks had played the most prominent role against the Japanese occupation forces and were later fighting to free the Philippines of a corrupt, graft-ridden regime.

In 1953 Magsaysay quit the government, saying he could not serve in an administration that "continues to foster and tolerate conditions which offer fertile soil for communism."

**BOUGHT INFORMERS:** Elected President in 1953 with powerful U. S. support, Magsaysay successfully varied his tactics against the Huks. Taking a leaf from the Huk program, he advocated land reform, persuaded some Huks to surrender by promising them clemency and a parcel of unused land. He made informers out of some captured Huks by paroling them and staking them to $100 and a sack of rice after they had led the army to guerrilla hideouts. Others were bribed with much larger sums when they disclosed the hideouts of top Huk leaders: one was given $4,000 and a new car and another, $50,000.

Successful in decimating the Huks, Magsaysay failed to rid the government of graft and corruption, left untouched the huge landed estates despite a land reform law passed by congress, was unable to inaugurate any change in the colonial economy of the Philippines. His undoubted popularity at home was based on a personal reputation, free of scandal and a willingness to listen to the complaints of the ordinary people even though he did little to redress them.

Magsaysay ingratiated himself with Washington by his violent anti-communism and unqualified support of U.S. policy in Asia, including the acceptance of Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee as authentic popular leaders. He was publicized by Washington as the prize Asian showpiece of SEATO, whose other Asian members were considerably more sophisticated and skeptical.

**FREE-FOR-ALL:** With the death of Magsaysay, who was considered a sure winner in the November presidential election, the Philippines face the prospect of an election year free-for-all.

The country is dominated by the Nationalist Party, with virtually no opposition political party in existence. Among the potential presidential candidates are: Magsaysay's Vice President Carlos P. Garcia, now the President; Senators Claro Recto, Jose P. Laurel, Manuel Pelaez and Gil Puyat; Carlos P. Romulo, ambassador to the U. S.; Manila's Mayor Arsenio Lacson; Cebu Island's Mayor Sergio Osmena, Jr. Nationalist Party chairman Logio Rodriguez and Sen. Fernando Lopez are potential dark horse candidates who might be nominated in case of a deadlock.

**GARCIA CAN ROLL:** Garcia, who was also Foreign Affairs Secy. under Magsaysay, occasionally strayed from the straight and narrow path of unquestioned loyalty to U. S. policy. In 1954 he sided with those who considered excessive the $17 million a year it was costing to keep Filipino troops in Korea and wanted to withdraw them. At the Korean conference at Geneva the same year, he alarmed U. S. diplomats by his efforts to reach a compromise solution.

At the SEATO conference in Australia last month, Garcia's arguments for revision of U. S. bases agreement forced Secy. Dulles to say that "the differences between us are, I think, not insurmountable . . . but at the moment the discussions are in suspension." Garcia, however, redeemed himself in State Dept. eyes by declaring that he was "keenly aware of the perils of Communist aggression from without as well as of Communist subversion from within." If elected President, chances are he will roll with the punch from Washington.

**LOSS FOR U. S.:** Sen Claro Recto was an avowed candidate for the presidential nomination before Magsaysay's death. A colorful speaker and leader of the opposition to Magsaysay's pro-U. S. policy, he won re-election to congress despite the opposition of Magsaysay and the Roman Catholic Church. Since his law firm received large retainer fees from U. S. corporations in the Philippines, his opposition to the late President's policies were considered to stem less from a belief in "neutralism" than from a desire to wring greater concessions from Washington.

Jose P. Laurel, puppet President under the Japanese, strongly anti-U. S., has denied any presidential ambition. Pelaez headed the delegation to negotiate revision of the U. S. bases agreement. Puyat is an economist and successful businessman. Lopez and Rodriguez supported Romulo during the 1953 presidential election before Romulo withdrew in favor of Magsaysay.

Lacson, ex-newspaperman and vigorous critic of earlier administrations, once was an admirer of Huk leader Luis Taruc. After a promising political start, he seems to have been subdued by success. Ambassador Romulo, spending most of his time publicizing U. S. policy in Asia, has failed to build up any strong political support at home. Although prefering the limelight as a diplomat, he can not be counted out of the race, since he could depend on wholehearted U. S. support.

With Magsaysay's death, the U. S. has lost its most ardent supporter in the Philippines. His successor may not be as amendable to U. S. pressure or as likely to resist the strong pull of Asian-African nationalism.

**COLONIAL TROUBLES:** Whoever wins the election will have to face tough problems unresolved since the Philippines became independent. The economy has remained colonial, based on the export of agricultural products (sugar, copra, hemp) and import of most consumer goods, even rice. Nearly half the arable land remains uncultivated. The disparity in the Philippines' international trade balance —chronically unfavorable—has been growing.

Sen. Recto has charged that economic policy in the Philippines is "conceived and formulated by others" to keep the country tied to an agricultural base and to preserve an unhampered field for U. S. investors. The **Christian Science Monitor** (1/31) found it "significant that the Governor of the Philippines Central Bank is presently complaining about" huge U. S. corporations in the Philippines "with more than adequate dollar reserves" seeking to finance their operations "with U. S. dollars from the Export-Import Bank." This, the Governor pointed out, "means that the dollars actually come out of limited reserves which the Export-Import Bank has loaned to the Philippines," cutting into the government's "needs for its own foreign trade and industrial development programs."

**HUK FUTURE:** Filipinos resent the terms of the 99-year lease granted to U.S. military bases, run under virtual extraterritorial rights. When the Manila government halted extraction by a Philippines company of manganese found in land adjacent to U.S.-owned Camp O'Donnell in Tarlac because of U.S. protest, the miners defied the ban and created a furor.

Filipinos new demand a complete revision of the bases agreement, the right to abrogate it, now claimed exclusively by the U.S., and clarification of the provisions requiring U. S. consent to the exploitation of water, mineral and timber resources within the vast areas allocated to the bases.

**CARLOS P. ROMULO**
*The voice of America*

It is difficult to predict how Magsaysay's death might affect the activities of the Huk liberation forces. Many Huk leaders have been killed, some [illegible] in prison. The Huk's top leader Luis Taruc surrendered three years ago in the hope of negotiating a peaceful settlement that would allow the Hukbalahaps to function as an open political party. He is now serving a 12-year sentence in jail.

In an interview late last month Taruc said that outlawing of the Communist Party was unconstitutional. He expressed willingness to "sacrifice his life" if necessary to persuade the Huks to surrender—if they were granted amnesty and allowed to lead normal lives.

**REBELS' LOOPHOLE:** The Trade Union Congress has been moribund since 1951, when its internationally known leader, Amado Hernandez was railroaded to prison for life as an alleged member of the Communist politburo in rebellion against the state.

Last July, however, the Philippines Supreme Court in a 6-4 decision freed Hernandez on bail of $15,000 on the grounds that the maximum legal punishment for rebellion was only 12 years. It is not known whether the government plans to put Hernandez on trial again. To plug this loophole which might free Huk leaders—including U. S. citizen William Pomeroy—now serving life sentences, the solicitor general has filed a motion for reconsideration with the Supreme Court. Last year President Magsaysay also asked congress to pass a bill raising the penalty for armed rebellion to death or life imprisonment.

**EX-GI WILLIAM POMEROY IN A HAPPIER TIME IN THE PHILIPPINES**
*He is now serving a life term for working with the Huks.*

## Powell case

*(Continued from Page 6)*

War. It should call on editors and writers, who believe in editorial freedom, on missionaries who know China, on the Friends and others who love peace. It should have one common idea: that it is of tremendous moment to know the facts of the Korean War and that the Powell Case opens the way.

The presentation of facts should be limited only by the rules of evidence imposed by the judge and not by the poverty of the defense.

To whatever degree the Powell account is found false, it may next be the turn of the American Civil Liberties Union to defend an editor's right to mistakes. To whatever degree it is found to be true, this is something that—for the sake of world peace—the American people desperately need to know.

*Reprints of this article may be obtained, 30 cents a dozen, by writing to Miss Strong, Box 87, Altadena, Calif.*

GALINDEZ MYSTERY

## State Dept. rejects Dominican explanation

THE STATE DEPT. on March 16 rejected the Dominican Republic's explanation of the disappearance of Gerald Murphy, 23-year-old Oregon flier. According to an article in **Life** magazine Murphy had flown Dr. Jesus de Galindez, foe of Dominican dictator Rafael Trujillo to the Dominican Republic. De Galindez vanished on March 12, 1956, and it has been charged that he was kidnapped and murdered by Trujillo agents.

The Dominican explanation was that Murphy was murdered by a fellow-pilot, Octavio de la Maza, who tossed his body to the sharks, was arrested, wrote a note of confession, then committed suicide. The State Dept. in a formal note to the Dominican government said the handwriting of the confession did not tally with samples of the la Maza's penmanship. It called the case "unsolved," said the U.S. was "gravely concerned" and urged the Dominican authorities to "reopen and vigorously pursue its investigation."

Rep. Charles O. Porter (D-Ore.) pressed for a Congressional investigation into the disappearance of both Murphy and de Galindez.

# Bermuda talks

*(Continued from Page 1)*

arms race and try to shore up crumbling empires.

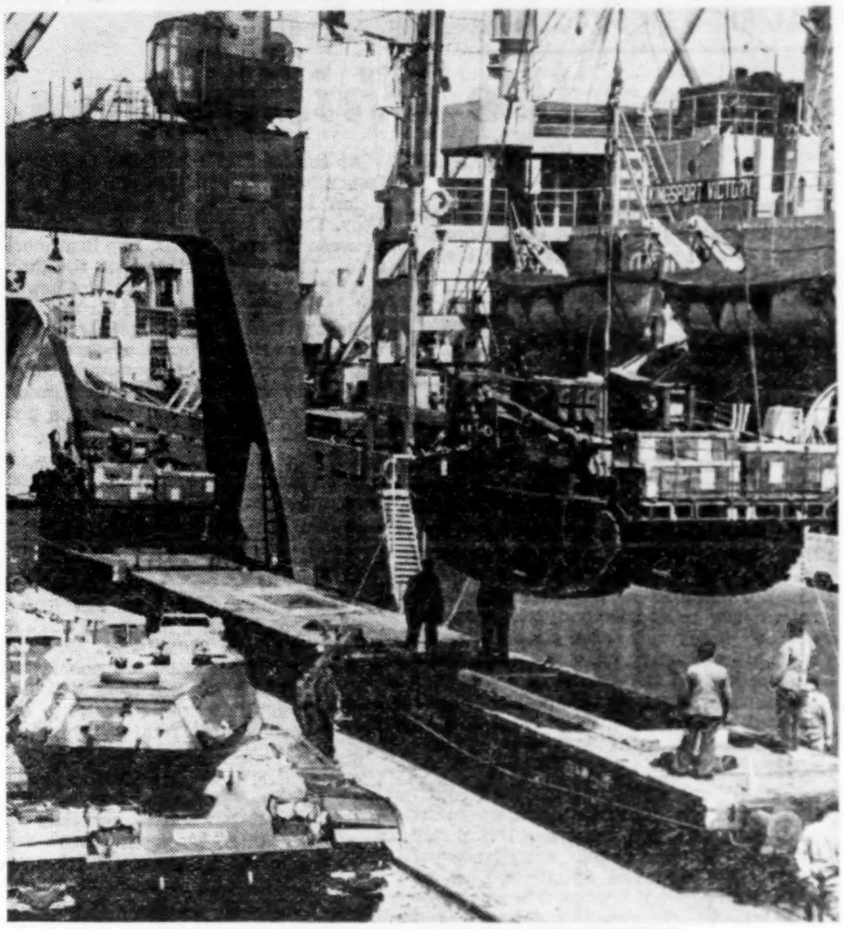
**MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA:** Washington's decision, announced at Bermuda, to join the military committee of the Baghdad Pact constituted another step in the U.S. take-over from Britain in the Middle East. Already represented in the Pact's counter-subversion and economic committees, the U.S. now appeared to be a member in all but name. This move emphasized the basic similarity in British and U.S. policies in that area, however much they may differ in tactics, and debunked recent propaganda that Washington has recognized the necessity of accepting neutralism in Asia and Africa.

U.S. alignment with the Baghdad Pact will almost certainly sharpen the split between what the West likes to call the "good Arabs" (pro-West) and the "bad." It may compromise Washington's campaign to win over Saudi Arabia's King Saud and to split the neutralist grouping of Egypt, Syria, Jordan, S. Arabia. During Saud's recent visit to the U.S., Washington claimed some success for its efforts to improve relations between Iraq and Saudi Arabia and to lessen Saud's hostility to the Baghdad Pact. But the London **Economist** (3/16) reported from Saudi Arabia's capital, Riyadh, that "no progress" had been made in bettering Iraq-Saudi relations since last autumn. It warned against reading "too much" into Saud's forthcoming meetings with Iraq's King Faisal and Lebanon's President Chamoun.

**JORDAN AND SYRIA:** According to the **Economist,** "many leading figures" in Saudi Arabia "deplored" the Eisenhower Doctrine and the Saudis "are determined to resist" American efforts "to influence the Arab states in an anti-Communist direction" and out of their policy of neutrality—"a neutrality which, like Egypt and Syria, they have made the keystone of their foreign policy."

Another U.S. line of attack on the Arab neutrals may lie behind last week's reports, all unconfirmed, concerning "struggles for power," and attempted "coups d'etat" in Jordan and Syria. When the Eisenhower Doctrine was first proclaimed, Washington correspondents hinted broadly that the "U.S. had plans" by which it expected to align these two countries with the West. This goal could only be achieved by overthrowing elected governments. For Jordan's first free parliamentary elections last October brought to power an essentially popular-front government dedicated to abrogating the British treaty (now accomplished) and recognizing the U.S.S.R. Syria's government is also firmly dedicated to neutralism.

In Jordan, young King Hussein, reportedly egged on by the U.S. and British ambassadors, has demanded strong "anti-communist" action from the government, apparently in an attempt to provoke a crisis and change in government. The Western press, having conjured up a "pro-Soviet strong man" in Syria—Col. Abdel Hamid Serraj, chief of intelligence—is now in process of ousting him from power. Whatever lies behind this spate of unconfirmed reports—most of which come from Washington or London (i.e. intelligence offices)—the Arab people are not likely to forget the overthrow of Premier Mossadegh in Iran or the long history of Western interference in their governments and internal affairs.



**ISN'T-THIS-WHERE-WE-CAME-IN? DEPARTMENT**

*Heavy U. S. military equipment being unloaded for the new West German army at the port of Bremerhaven. Chancellor Adenauer now is insisting on "parity" for the German forces—which means he wants the sky to be the limit. Otherwise the German soul will suffer.*

Herblock in Washington Post

**"Well, it's sort of new with us."**

**EGYPT:** Towards another neutralist, Egypt's President Nasser, the U.S. and Britain were happy to discover at Bermuda a mutual attitude of antipathy, though differences over tactics in removing or "demagnetizing" him remained. With the issues at stake involving Arab relations with Israel under secret discussions between UN Secretary General Hammarskjold and the Egyptian government, Western attention at Bermuda was focused on the Suez Canal. The U.S. has been cool to the British demand for a boycott of the Canal if Egypt refuses to agree to the Western plan for control since, in its view, such a boycott would prove ineffective.

U.S. policy has been rather to keep Egypt under economic pressure and try to isolate it. Vice President Nixon's African safari and the Middle East tour of Special Ambassador Richards were propagandized as anti-Egyptian moves. But Egypt has already moved to counter this pressure by indicating a desire for resumption of relation with Britain. And the Nixon trip seems to have been more effective in frightening the French than the Egyptians. If the French attitude to what many in France call U.S. "meddling" in North Africa was not wholly defined by the walkout of French officials from a ceremonial affair in Tunis attended by the Vice President, the incident was at least suggestive.

On the question of "fighting communism" the length and breadth of Africa, however, the U.S. and Britain were reported to have reached the closest rapport at Bermuda. And, according to the N.Y. **Times** (3/24), the U.S. was staging "the first act in a play aimed at preventing a repetition of the Asian pattern on the African continent."

**ARMAMENTS:** This unilateral Western effort to control the future of Africa and the Middle East comes at a time when Britain is being forced to reduce its military commitments all over the world; when France "may have to end the war in Algeria for financial reasons" (**Times,** 3/16), and when U.S. efforts "to take up the load" from its debilitated partners will add to the burdens of already protesting American taxpayers.

Bermuda decisions and other developments demonstrated that Washington will counter the deteriorating position of Britain and France by meshing their military machines more closely with its own (Britain is to get U.S. guided missiles "capable of striking into the heart of the U.S.S.R.") and above all, by the atomic buildup of West Germany. Under the treaties governing its rearmament, West Germany is expressly forbidden to produce or own atomic weapons. But both Bonn and Paris have refused to deny recent reports that they will now jointly produce atomic weapons, and Bonn Defense Minister Strauss has announced that West German military forces, like those of other NATO countries, will be geared to nuclear war. Of this Western policy of increasing reliance on nuclear weapons, Liddell Hart wrote (N.Y. **Herald Tribune,** 3/19-21) that "the insanity of planning a defense that is bound to be suicidal" has become obvious to all but the military planners.

**NARROWING GAP:** The UN Subcommittee meetings on disarmament in London offer the West an opportunity of a turn toward sanity. A consolidated disarmament plan, bringing together its proposals of May, 1955, March and November, 1956, has been presented by the U.S.S.R. A former member of the British delegation to the subcommittee, Hugh Thomas, in a recently published pamphlet, **Disarmament, The Way Ahead,** makes it plain (as the London **New Statesman** reported 3/23) that "the West's failure to take the May, 1955, proposals seriously was a culpable error" and leaves "a firm impression that if, until 1955, both sides share responsibility for the failure of the talks, since then the blame rests mainly on the shoulders of the West."

Actually, as was pointed out during the recent UN Assembly meeting, the gap between the Soviet and Western positions has narrowed. In Thomas' view, an agreement on conventional arms could be signed tomorrow; and, the **New Statesman** adds, "Britain's painful efforts to obtain the consent of her allies to defense cuts . . . would become unnecessary." Thomas holds that atomic tests could be easily limited if not abolished; that a workable inspection system for atomic artillery emplacements and inspection sites could be achieved, and future nuclear production controlled. Such disarmament agreements could open the door to joint troop withdrawals from Germany and to negotiations for German reunification.

**NEW OPPORTUNITIES:** But there was no sign that the West would take this turn toward sanity. The Eisenhower-Macmillan declaration on nuclear tests at Bermuda bluntly rejects "a test limitation agreement" and agrees only "to continue to conduct nuclear tests only in such manner as will keep world radiation from rising to more than a small fraction of the levels that might be hazardous." The declaration was made, it was believed, to head off a reported Canadian initiative at London to limit nuclear tests.

Just as the West has ignored Soviet proposals for neutralization of the Middle East and an arms embargo, so it has dismissed Soviet disarmament proposals as well as its proposals for all-Europe economic cooperation. These latter (which envisage cooperation in construction of large hydro-electric power stations, development of a fuel and energy pool, easing of trade relations, etc.) were first put forward at the UN Economic Commission for Europe last April. They have been revived now in connection with a strong Soviet attack on the "common market" and "Euratom" schemes for Little Europe.

The U.S. at Bermuda gave its blessing to the "common market" and "free trade area," provided "they do not constitute a high tariff bloc." But many proponents of the "common market" see it as a protection against U.S. competition. The British and French have as yet been unable to agree on the relation of colonies to the common market. The Soviet criticism points out that it will favor the strongest monopolies—those of the U.S. and West Germany—and underlines that all its members are also members of NATO, that it will widen the split of Europe, increase tension and put fresh difficulties in the way of German reunification and European security.

Taken together, the Soviet proposals on the Middle East, disarmament, economic cooperation, add up to an initiative well worth exploring, in the view of some Western diplomatic observers. They see the increasing military influence in Western policy leading slowly, perhaps, but surely to disaster of one kind or another.

As Walter Lippmann has said, the explosions of Suez and Hungary "marked the disintegration of the post-war world." The new situation has created new opportunities for return to sanity. Few at the moment, however, were paying them any attention.

# *Whose island?*

*The following dispatch was sent to the London* Daily Mirror *by its correspondent 'alph Champion in Bermuda, March 20:*

]T IS DIFFICULT to believe that Bermuda is a British colony—although it has been so for more than 270 years.

Americans pour into Bermuda without having to undergo passport inspection. When I arrived yesterday in a press plane from Washington only British correspondents were ordered to one side for inspection of documents. Those from America were not questioned. An immigration inspector explained that the United States had asked them to check specially on British visitors.

Even accommodation at the British hotel where I am staying was allocated by the White House. When Eisenhower arrives by sea he will first inspect a guard of honour from the United States Marines. Then he will pass along the line to a British guard of honour.

When Mr. Macmillan and Foreign Minister Selwyn Lloyd arrive by air tomorrow, they will land on an American airfield. This is Dindley Air Force Base—leased to the United States for 99 years from 1941.

IN CONGRESS AND COURTS TOO

# Hell's Canyon giveaway issue comes vigorously to life

MORE CONGRESSIONAL HELL is about to be raised over Hell's Canyon, the mile-deep gorge slashed out by the Snake River on the border between Idaho and Oregon. Proponents of public development of this greatest site for a high, multi-purpose dam are now fighting both in Congress and in court against an Eisenhower giveaway of the natural resource to a private company for private profit.

Eisenhower forces had seemed to have won their Hell's Canyon battle against public power when the 84th Congress went out of existence without favorable action on the high Federal dam, but political upsets in the Pacific Northwest last November have given the issue another charge of steam.

**THEY WON ON THE ISSUE:** President Eisenhower himself picked the political fight when he prevailed upon Douglas McKay, his Secy. of the Interior, to resign his post and go back home to Oregon to run against Sen. Wayne Morse, leader of the Northwest public power forces. Morse not only won handily, but so did Sen. Warren G. Magnuson, Democrat of Washington, and Democratic Reps. Edith S. Green, Al Ullman and Charles O. Porter of Oregon. In addition, Democratic governors were elected in both Oregon and Washington. All had fought for a Federal dam in Hell's Canyon, which was conceded to be the decisive issue.

Last month bills to authorize Federal construction of the high dam were before the Interior Committee of both Houses; the one in the Senate was sponsored by Morse with the backing of 26 Democrats and two Republicans.

At the same time the Federal Power Commission and a private power company petitioned the Supreme Court not to rule on a lower court decision upholding the legality of an FPC license to the company to develop the Hell's Canyon site. The legality of the license is challenged by the Natl. Hell's Canyon Assn., formed to fight the giveaway.

**MAINE INTO IDAHO:** When President Eisenhower took office, the Dept. of the Interior was committed to the Federal high dam and was actively opposed to the application of the Idaho Power Co. (mis-named because it is a Maine corporation with Eastern financial connections) for the right to build three privately-owned low dams. One of the first acts of the new Administration was to reverse this policy in favor of the private utility.

Public power supporters fought this move and year-long hearings on the issue before the FPC followed. When it became clear that Congress would adjourn before finally resolving the matter, 26 Senators asked the FPC to defer action. But on Aug. 4, 1955, two days after Congress adjourned, the Commission announced its decision to license the Idaho Power Co. to construct its three little dams. Later it was learned that the FPC had made its ruling several days before Congress adjourned but withheld its announcement until too late for Congressional action. This kicked up another storm and led to the court suit challenging the FPC grant.

**KEY TO DEVELOPMENT:** At stake in the continuing battle is the right of the people to full development of their natural water resources in the public interest. A high dam at Hell's Canyon would not only produce far greater power at lower cost than three small dams, but would also promote flood control, irrigation, navigation and other lasting benefits lacking in the private company's plan. In addition, the high dam would be a main key to the entire future maximum development of the Columbia River Basin.

Another benefit of the high dam would be the development of vast phosphate beds near the Hell's Canyon site. The availability of large quantities of low-cost electricity needed to process the deposits could reduce the price of phosphate fertilizer for the entire Midwest by $10 to $20 a ton. The smaller private dams could not make the exploitation of the phosphate beds practicable.

**FOR FLOOD CONTROL:** Last month Sen. Morse in a report to his constituents said that "the unfortunate floods which have so recently struck our state make even more clear the fact that the great high dam at Hell's Canyon must be built to provide adequate flood control on the Snake River." He emphasized again that the little dams of the Idaho Power Co. cannot provide the flood control storage required.

At the moment the Idaho Power Co. is going ahead with the construction of the first of its proposed three little dams. The company will be reimbursed if action by Congress or the Supreme Court knocks out its claim to the site.

Meanwhile Interior Secy. Fred A. Seaton has begun to speak of a "high" dam on the Snake, possibly in acknowledgment of the conclusive election returns last November. But his high dam would not be at Hell's Canyon, but farther downstream at Pleasant Valley. It would, in fact, flood out the site of the Idaho Power Co.'s third little dam, which Sen. Morse contends it never intended to build anyway but just threw in on paper to make its bid for Hell's Canyon look better. Seaton remains rigidly opposed to a high Federal dam at the only place where it would do the most good.

Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch
**Back again for a new try.**

### Plumbing unlimited

In Princeton, Florida, the big factory farms not only have separate toilets for "white" and "colored" but a third set for "Puerto Ricans."

Suggests Clarence Senior, director of Puerto Rico's Migration Division:

"Why don't they go whole-hog and set up separate facilities for Protestants, Catholics and Jews? And then they can start on each of the more than 200 Protestant denominations and sects. Just think of all the plumbing business they could drum up!"

—Mine-Mill Union

## *Peace—it's horrible!*

TRINITY Episcopal Church opened Lent with mid-day Ash Wednesday services. The Rev. Robert W. Fay, D.D., pastor of Trinity, spoke on "The Love and the Judgment of God." His text was taken from Romans 11:22, "Behold therefore the goodness and the severity of God." The sermon, divided into seven parts, explained the virtues of war.

Dr. Fay used seven sub-topics. War and the threat of war makes us face ourselves honestly; war makes us change our ordinary habits; war makes us share what we have; war levels out our social inequalities; war storms us out of our false securities; war lays low human pride and war gives to everyone a heroic and a common task.

In closing, Dr. Fay said, "In spite of all its horrors, war does to people what the gospel has been trying to do by persuasion. War is the evangelization of the obdurate."

—Columbus, Ohio, **Citizen**, March 6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**IT WAS BROTHERHOOD WEEK IN GERMANY—A TIME TO REMEMBER**
*At the site of the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp near Hamburg more than 1,000 Germans came last week to place flowers on a mass grave.*

**BOOKS**

# Ten years of writing on Jewish life

BY THE YEAR 1946 the official eulogies had all been spoken over the ashes and the bones (sometimes in the form of soap) of six million Jewish victims of fascism. The crematoria had become shrines. The wandering Jews who had survived settled in new homes; some even went back home. In Israel a new nation was in the making; in America there was a new consciousness among Jews that they were Jews too, whatever else they were.

In the midst of this mood, as rigor mortis set into the wartime alliance and it was noted in some places that a man named Franklin Delano Roosevelt had been dead now a year, a new publication came quietly into being. It was called **Jewish Life** and its main cultural concern, as its devoted managing editor Louis Harap has said, was "the cultivation of the Jewish theme in English," while recognizing that "continuity must be established with creativity in Yiddish."

In a nation where Yiddish has become a foreign tongue to new generations of Jews born in the U.S., there was a need for such a publication. It could give its readers a sense of the worth and pride they could justly feel in Jewish culture; and provide a political motif to help that culture flow into the stream of life around them. This **Jewish Life** has done—perhaps not always with the greatest success (what publication ever has?), but with a love of culture and a respect for good writing which has stood the test of time.

THE TIME is now ten years, and the editors of **Jewish Life** have published an anthology* which will permit the reader to make the test himself. I think the result will be a moving experience both for Jews who are unfamiliar with their own cultural heritage and for non-Jews who want to know what has gone to make this heritage.

The anthology, nicely got up and eminently readable, is composed of short stories, essays and poems by 40 authors taken from ten years of the magazine, and divided into four parts: the old home in Eastern Europe; the first generations in America; the tragedy of the Jews under Hitler; and the participation of Jews in the American resistance in the Cold War decade.

The best things in the book are the stories and the real-life reminiscences, relating the hard lot of the Jews in the old country, the struggle for a living in the new, the awakening of the newer generations to an identification with the American progressive movement.

To call the roll of the authors would be too long; to single out a few might be unfair, because they are so uniformly good. One element I did find lacking: the wonderful humor—sometimes wry, sometimes robust—that characterizes so much good Jewish writing. It is found in too few of the stories.

TWO of the essays especially stand out: Morris U. Shappes' on the Jewish mass immigration from 1881 to 1914, which helps enormously to put in perspective the changes in the character of Jewish life in America; and Louis Harap's article on German Jews under Hitler. To their credit, the editors have chosen pieces which are extremely frank in discussing Jews in relation to other Jews. Emanuel Ringelblum's actual diary of the Warsaw Ghetto (dug up after his death) is horrifying in its dispassionate recording of the monstrous role of the Polish Jewish industrialists who worked with the Nazis and the Jewish police who marked thousands of Jews for death.

Much of the poetry is of high quality and beautiful; some is a bit uneven. Much of it is intense and emotional and therefore must be left for each individual reader to experience for himself; none of it is obscure.

There is one ironic footnote to this book which tells so eloquently of the struggle of the Jews for the right to a decent life, and of the human rottenness that deprived so many of them of that right—or of life itself. The most gripping story in the anthology is an "ancient mariner" tale of a broken Jew who alone survives as a witness to the murder of a million of his fellow Jews. The author is David Bergelson. In 1952, David Bergelson died in a Soviet prison after being arrested on a false charge.

Perhaps that is one reason why there cannot be much laughter in the book.

—**James Aronson**

**JEWISH LIFE ANTHOLOGY, 1946-1956. Published by Jewish Life., 22 E. 17th St., New York 3, N. Y. 224 pp. $1.50 paper, $2.50 cloth.*

**"PAGAN SPAIN"**

# Wright on Wright

RICHARD WRIGHT, as a novelist writing of his people and himself, was vigorous and convincing even when he shocked his readers. He wrote with passion but also with the authority and the self-confidence of a man sure of his material and his craft.

But that self-confidence seems misplaced in his latest book, **Pagan Spain***, for Wright has not trained himself as a journalist and he is writing about a people he has scarcely more than glimpsed, and whose language he does not know. The result is perhaps useful as a progress report on Richard Wright, the exile; but it throws very little light on Spain.

Wright drove his car from France to Spain in 1954. He carried a rumble-seat full of preconceived notions and a wholesome distaste for fascism. He thought himself qualified to understand "totalitarianism" because he was born "under an absolutistic racist regime" in Mississippi and because for 12 years he lived "under the political dictatorship of the Communist Party of the United States."

THE BRUTALITIES of Mississippi life and the mental anguish of his political career did not prepare Richard Wright to take a total view of Spain, to judge the quality of its life, the complexities of its politics. It did not give him a clue to where he might find valid, meaningful resistance. He went to Spain to answer this question for himself: "How did one live after the death of the hope for freedom?"

Preoccupied with dead hopes Wright did not probe to find the unrest that erupts periodically in Barcelona, where Spaniards still hope and fight. Hopes that are not dead do not make interesting clinical studies. Richard Wright searched for the morbid and the bizarre; often he seemed to find it in his own rather tortured estimate of the people he talked with. He could not understand them and therefore was free to speculate about not only what they said but what they thought. He seems at times to be psychoanalyzing a nation by drawing strange deductions from gestures, looks, intonations that a more experienced reporter would put in their place.

For example, when a young woman in a railway carriage spreads a blanket over her lap the ordinary observer might put it down to the cool weather, but to Richard Wright it is a sure sign that she is protecting her virginity. Wright finds sex everywhere in Spain. Certainly it is not hard to find in Spain or elsewhere, but it seems far fetched to describe the landscape—the shapes of rocks and trees—as sex symbols. It is no doubt true that upper-class Spanish families set high store on their daughters' pre-marital purity. But when Wright reads into a girl's glances a vivid account of how her entire life is consumed with a yearning to be possessed, the episode becomes more an exploration of the author's mind than of Spain, itself.

Holy Week processions in Seville excite Wright to such bizarre anatomical figures of speech that the reader is lost in wonder at the author's own psychological complexities, but rather misses the parade.

THERE ARE ERRORS of fact in the book which are serious if one takes it as a conscientious journalistic effort. Other reviewers have pointed out that the town Wright describes as his first authentic Spanish experience is in fact French and that he also errs in discussing Spanish art. He slips up on his bull fights too, reversing the order of the banderilleros and the picadors. He reports that a successful matador is awarded the tail and hoof, to detach which would require some bloody surgery with an axe. (The customary award is the tail and ears.) These are details but they tend to cast doubt on the reporter's more significant findings.

Despite all this there are memorable patches of writing describing Spain's poverty, the absurdity of its aristocrats, the medievalism of its church, the menace of Franco's police, the quality of Spain as a prison ringed by armed guards.

Richard Wright spent only six weeks—divided into two trips—in Spain. He has collected some notes for novels and these could be valuable. Unfortunately he has taken these notes, filled them in with a series of rather tedious excerpts from a Falangist manual, and presented it as a book of reporting.

The book produces a somber, desperate mood. But how much of it is Spain's and how much Richard Wright's is hard to say.

—**Elmer Bendiner**

**PAGAN SPAIN by Richard Wright. Harper's, New York. 241 pp. $4.*

PUBLICATIONS

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# CALENDAR

## Chicago

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"Will The Boom Go Bust?"
Carl Christ Ernest DeMaio
Charles Orr Victor Perlo
Siuha Hall
Roosevelt University
430 N. Michigan
General Adm. 90c 8 p.m.
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**"WHAT IS RATIONALISM?**

We, of the Chicago Youth Committee of the American Rationalist Federation invite you to join us in a symposium. Rationalism and its social implications is the subject. Leaders in the Rationalist, Humanist and Unitarian Movements will lead the discussion. We will meet in the Walnut Room of the Hotel Midland, 172 W. Adams St. on Sunday, April 7th, 7 p.m. This symposium is the first of a series.

**FILM FORUM PRESENTS**
**"A BIG FAMILY"**
Would you tell your son to marry a woman seduced by another on their wedding eve and bore the other man a child? Cannes prize Soviet film. Chopin Club, 1547 N. Leavitt. Sun., April 7, 3 p.m. Arm. 90c.

## New York

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## Books and Publications

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# THE MAIL BAG

## Sees '29 ahead

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**M. E. Bryant**

## Perplexus

KETCHUM, OKLA.

Look for the stock market to take a nose-dive before long. It has been hit a solar plexus wallop and I am wondering what makes it stand up.

**B. F. Liggett**

## Unemployment gouge

CINCINNATI, O.

Every unemployed worker wanting to draw unemployment pay must register at one of the State offices and report there regularly. However, this does not guarantee a job. In most places the companies call private employment offices for their help. Here a worker is forced to pay one week's pay or more for a job which may last only a few weeks.

GUARDIAN readers can start writing the newspapers, city councils, state officials and federal politicians asking them why these blood suckers are allowed to exist. Every State has well-equipped offices, with capable forces to operate them, and the entire cost of operating State offices is paid for from tax money collected from the workers.

**Reuel Stanfield**

## Notty problem

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Can the newspapers be blamed for the person who will not think for himself?

A few years ago an acquaintance said of the **Daily Compass:** "I don't know how anyone can read that paper." When I asked him if he ever read it he said: "No."

I believe he did, and does, represent the average daily newspaper reader. How are these people to be reached? There is no liberal daily left in New York. And if there was, my friend wouldn't read it.

**Thomas Grabell**

## From the battlefield

CAPE TOWN, SO. AFRICA

Many thanks for copies of the GUARDIAN. More than 3,000 publications have been entered on the banned list of the South African government. I have just looked up the latest issue of the Government Gazette and you are one of the few publications not on the list at present.

Most leftist printed matter has been seized. A heavy fine and a long term of imprisonment is the penalty for possession. I am a member of the Cape Town peace council. Several of the members are among those in prison awaiting trial on charges of treason. This is now a prison state. The future looks serious.

**Charles B. Mussared**

## Wants an argument

CIRCLE, MONT.

The American Left greatly needs thorough-going discussion of the de-Stalinization program, the attempted abandonment of the Cult of the Individual in Russia and the present theories of "many roads to socialism".

At the risk of over-simplification, let me say that Russia may have earned the right to criticize or condemn Stalin, but the American Left has, as yet, not nearly approached the stage of being fit to black his boots!

The "Cult of the Individual" should be American meat and drink for we probably lead the world in development of this cult. Our educational system is corrupted with this cult, religion sterilized with it, our economy strangled by it, and our supposed political liberty rendered farcical.

The "many roads to socialism" thing needs no end of intelligent discussion. I cannot take the space here to attempt it, even were I capable, but the subject reminds me of the old saw: "There are many ways to skin a cat." Whichever end one starts at, the hide must all come off before the job is done. Personally, there is no objection to exploring means and methods, but don't try to make my simple mind think the skin is off the way the people thought the clothes were on in the old fable of **The Emperor's New Clothes.**

**Hobart McKean**

## Tax churches

SEATTLE, WASH.

How can we afford to ignore the levying of taxes on church properties? Why not use some of these churches, church kitchens, assembly rooms, for the school children? Most of these places are only used part time and generally on days not needed for school.

**Edna V. Hansen**

Lancaster in Daily Express, London
**"If we could get the six o'clock news we could probably cheer ourselves up with a couple of earthquakes and a speech by Dulles."**

## Beloved comrade

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The undersigned committee is arranging the erection of a memorial to our beloved Mother Bloor. It will be placed at the site of her grave in the Harleigh Cemetery, Camden, N. J. It is in this same cemetery that her childhood friend, Walt Whitman, lies buried.

On the memorial of red granite will appear the words:

> Mother Ella Reeve Bloor
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> Born during the war to free the slaves, she died rejoicing that half of mankind was free. Called "Mother" by countless workers, farmers, Negro and white, who fight for a better world, she left to us her children the building of a socialist America and a world at peace.

We believe that over the long stretch of years there will always be people coming to pay their respects and draw inspiration from these two immortal Americans.

The cost of erecting the monument on a suitable plot will be $1,400 We think that there are many who would like to be associated with this memorial by sending a contribution. We urge you to do so.

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So you get up late some morning, grope in the noonday sun, get the milk and set about your daily program of guaranteed adequate vitamin intake.

But wait a minute. Hold that milk bottle! Did you know that a bottle of milk standing in the sun for a morning can lose up to 85% of its riboflavin?

What, you didn't even know it had riboflavin in it? Well, it does; that's Vitamin B2. Meanwhile your orange juice has been standing while you ponder this, and you've lost most of the Vitamin C out of that.

So you decide to bring the milk in early after this, but what have you done to check on the cow? If Bossie doesn't get proper sunlight or chews too much DDT with her cud, you're behind the eight-ball again—you're missing out on your Vitamin D. Same goes for hens and eggs.

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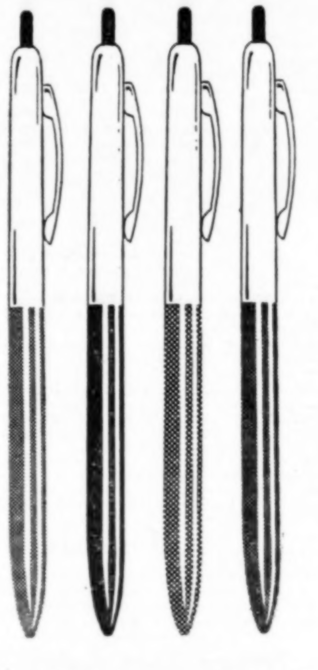

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# the SPECTATOR

## The Petal Paper

OFFICIAL MISSISSIPPI'S SENSITIVITY is becoming known wherever her motorists travel. Their license tags have long proclaimed it the "Magnolia State". Now this plaint is added on many plates: **"Mississippi, the most lied about state in the Union."** The sensitivity is directly traceable to the avalanche of brickbats after Emmett Till's lynching in 1955 and the state's general antipathy to the Supreme Court's anti-jimcrow rulings.

One white man who finds the plaint accurate—but for reasons other than the officials'—is P. D. East, 35-year-old, 220-pound, six-foot-two editor of **The Petal Paper**, Forrest County, Miss. East said in his Jan. 10 issue that he agreed with the tags, but added: "Unfortunately, the lies are not necessarily being told by persons out of the state."

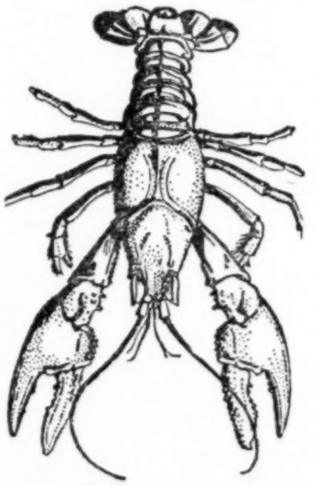
The surprise caused by such sentiments from a native Mississippian is exceeded only by the incredulity at the paper's name. But a standard atlas shows Petal to be not more than a whoop and a holler from Hattiesburg, a college town of about 20,000 in a noisy factory district redolent of cut pine and turpentine.

The editor in his "East Side" column of Jan. 10 said he was trying again—after many failures—to get across "what amounts to" an editorial policy:

"All this mess about being 'a nigger lover' or 'a Jew lover', and some other pet names which have been used in describing me, is foolishness. . . . I am not concerned with any single 'race', 'color' or 'religion.' I am concerned with the human heart and the right of all persons to attain human dignity, at least in the eyes of God and himself and under equal and just laws."

FOUR PAGES of two over-sized sheets make up the average issue. A typical copy (2/14) includes East's column; "Congressional Sidelights" by Miss. Rep. William Colmer; a story headed: "Nutrition Projects Are Sponsored By Health Dept. for Negro Schools"; a full-page announcement: "BOOKLETS FOR SALE! 50c. No Hurry . . . We'll Probably Have 'em For Years to Come . . ."

East would probably sell out his booklets in no time if all who agree with his editorial policy knew they contained the best of **The Petal Paper's** articles. (An annual sub to the paper itself is $3.) There is, for instance, "Us—And Them Other Crawfish," illustrated with a crawfish by the staff artist, Mrs. East. The caption suggests, "humbly, that the progressive Crawfish replace the Magnolia as a symbol of our State." The reason: Mississippi's officialdom imitates the crawfish in leading the people: "Their aim is to protect us from those crawfish who haven't the intelligence to move backward (as any sane crawfish knows) toward the mud from which he came."



The Mark Twain tradition of real folk satire comes through. "Left-Overs, Thank You" (10/11/56) quoted a letter from the Negro weekly Norfolk **Journal and Guide** proposing a stagger system for public school attendance, white students for one period, Negro for another. Result, "no integration, no objection to segregation, because there is no discrimination."

East replied that although the suggestion was superior to "the South's Ku Klux Councils'" to send Negroes back to Africa, it would still be discrimination: "And if this nation is what we've been telling everyone, including ourselves, discrimination must be wiped out totally and completely. You do not have a nation of 'Liberty and Justice for all' so long as any one person, group or minority is forced to take left-overs, so to speak."

THE PETAL PAPER (9/13/56) published a speech by Dr. Benjamin Mays, president of Morehouse College (Negro), before the Southern Historical Assn. Dr. Mays told of "a Jew from South Africa and a man from India" and his U.S. host, a Negro professor in Atlanta. The host "could not get food from the hotels and restaurants . . . His guests had to go in and buy food for him." If the U.S. loses this "battle for freedom for 16 million Negroes", Dr. Mays concluded, "it will lose for 145 million whites." East commented: "It was one of the most brilliant pieces I've had the opportunity to read anywhere."

In one issue East published his own full page announcement of a White Citizens Council meeting: "Join the Glorious Citizens Clan Next Thursday Night! Be Safe From Social Worries." He listed among the 10 "freedoms" to make the joiner "super-superior" the "freedom to interpret the Constitution of the U. S. to your own personal advantage."

His job is full of risks and East admitted that he got "a few telephone calls, letters and cancelled subscriptions." But, he said, if the pressure got too strong, and the paper had to fold, "the tragedy would not be mine but Mississippi's." Then he added: "I have no intention of going under. I wouldn't give them the satisfaction. Besides, I'm having too much fun."

Once he printed across the top of a page: "We present below our views of the good that has been and is being done by the citizens councils of Mississippi since they went into business. The appreciation of the council, as presented here, is not likely to be subject to change."

There followed a solid blank page.

—Eugene Gordon